HT

John Carter Brown.

HF-C.
C.13..

Nº 1. Reglamento de Caudales . . . . Lima 1835.
2. Copia del Testimonio etc . . . — " 1835.
3. Ensayo sobre la Conducta etc — " 1835.
4. Exposicion de Obregoso . . Arequipa 1835
5 La batalla de Anacocha . . Ayacucho 1835
6. Manifestacion de Fr. Sg. Guzman - Lima 1835
7. Piden la Suspension etc . (Potosi ? - 1835)
8. Aviso Parroquial . . . . . Lima 1831.
9 - Manifestacion de Gamarra . . Cuzco 1835.
10. Observaciones al Codigo min.l: Ayacucho 1835
11. Matricula de Abogados . . . Lima 1836.
12. Exposicion de Obregoso . . . . . " 1836
13. Copia literal del Reclamo . . . " 1836
14. A la Justification del Publico — " 1837
15. Correspondencia oficial . Santiago 1836
16. Reglamento del Comercio. E. S. P. . Lima 1836
17. . . do . . . . do . . N. S. P. — " 1836
18. Apuntamientos. &c . . . . . — " 1837
19. Escrito de Agravios . . . . — " 1837
20. Contra-Manifiesto. (Fr.) . . . " 1837
21. Contra-Manifiesto. (Eng.) . — " 1837
22. Manifiesto del Gobierno . Ayacucho 1838
23. Reclamo del Dr. Indelicato - . Lima 1838
24. Refutacion de un Informe . — " 1838
25. Critica de Irisarri . . . Guayquil 1839
26. Oracion funebre . . . . . Lima 1839

21.

CONTRA-MANIFESTO

to that published

BY THE GOVERNMENT

OF

BUENOS-AYRES,

STATING THE GROUNDS

ON WHICH IT PRETENDS TO JUSTIFY ITS

DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST

the Peru-Bolivian

CONFEDERACY.

LIMA:

PRINTED BY EUSEBIO ARANDA.

1837.

CONTRA-MANIFESTO

TO THAT PUBLISHED

by the Government of Buenos-Ayres,

STATING THE GROUNDS ON WHICH IT PRETENDS TO JUSTIFY ITS DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE PERU-BOLIVIAN CONFEDERACY.

THE Government of Buenos Ayres having published a Manifesto setting forth the grounds whereon it justifies, as it presumes, its declaration of war against the Peru-Bolivian Confederacy, it becomes my duty, in the simple but nervous language of truth and with the irresistible logick of facts, to beat back the torrent of calumny which that Paper has let loose against against Bolivia and against its Administration, with a degree of shamelessness whereof it would be difficult to find so scandalous an example in all the annals of diplomacy. In the melancholy catalogue of disorders which for so long a space of time have convulsed the South-American Republicks and made them a spectacle to all the nations of the earth, not one will be found that, for perfidy, malignity and impudence, can be compared with that which the context of this treacherous and insidious document involves—treacherous and insidious, I say, in the highest degree, because, by a plausible detail of dates and names, it endeavours to give authenticity to things that are absolutely false and destitute of even a shadow of foundation; and because, resting, as it does, this cumbrous fabrick of iniquity on the signatures of two pub-

lick functionaries of the highest rank, in whom one would hardly suppose so criminal a contempt of truth, or such a pitch of audaciousness, as that they should expose themselves to be solemnly convicted of falsehood in the face of the world, it seems to have been the intention of the Government of Buenos Ayres to steal unawares into the venerable Tribunal of Publick Opinion, and, by forestalling the suffrages of Nations and Cabinets, to give vitality, at least for a time, to its iniquitous imputations.

It will cost me no trouble to reduce these imputations to dust, and althongh an absolute denegation of the facts produced would be amply sufficient for that purpose, until those facts be made good by proofs, as reason and justice demand in every species of accusation, yet to set the base malignity of the conduct of the Buenos-Ayrean Government in a still clearer point of view, Ishall super-add to the positive denegation of the excesses which its Manifesto attributes to my Administration, a few simple but luminous explanations that will unravel the tortuous intentions which dictated that paper. The Peru-Bolivian Confederacy fears not the war with which it is threatened. To say nothing of its vast resources, of the patriotism and fidelity, the moral and numerical strength of its warlike troops, the very impotency of the enemy, which the intrigues of the Chilian Cabinet have raised up against it, were sufficient to remove all idea of danger, and make it receive with a smile of compassion this vain and impertinent challenge, which ought, in charity, to be attributed to insanity. It knows that the very Government which threatens hostility, scarcely maintains its own existence by dint of sanguinary punishments and persecutions: that the very Government which provokes its indignation, can scarcely keep its tottering seat amidst the frightful precipices which the hatred of the people, the irritation of the savage tribes, the penury of its resources, and the immense deficiency of its revenues, have spread around it on all sides. It knows that the power of Buenos Ayres does, in fact, scarcely extend beyond the walls of the city; that the Provinces, fermenting with political passions, are given up to the horrors of desolation, despair and ex-

treme misery—the fatal bequeathment of intestine discord. Finally, it knows that the Argentine towns confining on the Bolivian frontier, far from being imbued with that spirit of hostility which the Government of Buenos-Ayres blazons with so much emphasis, have constantly resisted the malignant suggestions, that would prompt them to burst asunder the bonds of fraternity which unite them to their sincere and loyal friends. All this is notorious to the Confederacy and to the world at large. Yet, how strong soever may be the conviction that this war, proclaimed though it be with so much sound and fury, can end in nothing but the confusion and, perhaps, the ruin of its authors, still it is a sacred duty, incumbent on every Government that respects itself and enjoys the consciousness of its own rectitude, to resist even the slightest attack that is made on its reputation, and remove at once from the minds of friendly Powers the doubts which an outrage of this description, unless repelled, might possibly sow in them. To these Powers has the Protectoral Government manifested, in the clearest and most explicit terms, the nature of its external policy—a policy founded exclusively in benevolence, in respect for legal authorities, in the interchange of friendly offices and the promotion of social and commercial relations. Ill would it beseem such a Government as this, to suffer the apocryphal criminations, the atrocions impostures, which have been heaped upon it in cold blood by the ready instrument of foreign machinations, to run on unchecked. It proposes, therefore, to lay bare the system of falsification whereby the criminal design, to which the Government of Buenos-Ayres has so ignominiously lent itself, is attempted to be justified.

The Manifesto preludes its accusations with a vague declamation about a supposed understanding between the Government of Bolivia and the Unitarians of the river Plate. Such a mere generality as this, deserves no other reply than the positive assertion, that it is a fixed rule of the Government of Bolivia, from which it has never deviated, to abstain from all connexion whatever with the factions into which the neighbouring states are divided.

It has never even entered into the examination of the questions that were discussed among them, nor taken any interest in the triumph of one party at the expence of another, nor ever desired anything else than the establishment of peace, harmony and good order throughout the whole of the nation. But seeing that these inestimable blessings seemed to be banished for ages from that unhappy region, it deemed that it was but complying with the dictates of religion and humanity, when it afforded a friendly asylum to those who sought one within its territory, without inquiring under what banners they had fought, or what were the political dogmas which they professed. Over the whole extent of the interminable plains of the river Plate the most bloody of civil wars had spread its desolating sway—leaders succeeded to leaders in fields still red with the blood of their predecessors—a persecution of the most ferocious and implacable nature fulminated the direst vengeance against the vanquished: in circumstances of such appalling calamity as this, Bolivia opened her hospitable bosom to the afflicted, and this is the only part she has taken in the long-continued and cruel disputes, which have made the inhabitants of those regions a mournful example of unextinguishable enmity. Surely, *the manifold confirmations, which*, according to the Manifesto, *poured into the Government from all quarters, of the criminal connivance of the Bolivian authorities at the attempts of the Unitarian conspirators*, deserved, for the very gravity of the crime which they attested, that the Government, against whom these supposed machinations were directed, should publish them to the world? If these confirmations really deserve the name, that is, if they be facts of such a clear and intelligible nature as to constrain an impartial mind to the belief of them, why are they not detailed and specified? Why are they not authentically set forth, so as to leave the delinquent without reply or justification? The words which have just been quoted seem to promise as much: one would suppose that they served as a prologue to the publick exhibition of some one, at least, of these boasted confirmations. But nothing of the sort.

In the passage which immediately follows, it is observed that *the publick prints edited under the compulsory influence of the Bolivian Ministry , discovered amidst satire and criticism the hostile spirit which prevailedin their Government against the Confederacy.* Satire and criticism form no part of the political profession: they are not the means whereof a Cabinet avails itself, to express its opinions as to the line of conduct which other cabinets have thought proper to adopt: neither are they the language which befits a grave and dignified Government, such as that of Bolivia, in all its acts, has ever shown itself to be. Let the Government of Buenos-Ayres point out one single line in the publick prints of Bolivia that involves a sentiment, we do not say offensive, but in any way wanting of respect towards the Argentine authorities, or tending in the slightest degree to diminish the dignity and reputation of their country. But this, though challenged to the utmost, it cannot do, and consequently, by its silence, it must stand for ever self-convicted of having uttered a gratuitous and most stupid falsehood, for the sole purpose of carrying forward its plan of deceit and hallucination.

In every act of the President of Bolivia there was observable a perfect coincidence with the plan which was set on foot in Salta by the Bolivian Legation, before the battle of Tucuman, to foment the revolutionary faction under the specious pretext of mediation, whish was opportunely rejected by the illustrious General Quiroga. It were not only a violation of the first principles of common sense, but a contradiction in terms, to say that he who offers his disinterested mediation between two parties that are destroying each other, foments one of those parties: especially when he intercedes on behalf of those who are in opposition to the party he is supposed to foment, and even carries his good offices so far as to snatch them from an ignominious death. Yet such was the conduct of the Government of Bolivia in the instance which the Manifesto so malignantly misrepresents.

The Government of Bolivia has yet to learn what *the plan* was that was *set on foot in Salta.* What it

really and solely bore in mind on that occasion, was the horrible scene which was presented to its sight–a neighbouring nation, for which it cherished the most friendly sentiments, divided into two hostile factions which, blind with fury , precipitated themselves against each other, gave no quarter on either side, and seemed bent on reciprocal and total extermination. Then, indeed, the Bolivian Legation did feel itself bound, by all the sacred obligations of humanity, to stretch forth between the conflicting parties the beneficent hand of mediation; an office which in similar cases the most illustrious nations of the earth are proud to fulfil. It had, indeed, the satisfaction to save the life of General Aldao, who had fallen into the hands of the opposite party, but it found, to its sorrow, that all its endeavours to effect a reconciliation were utterly in vain, and its last proposal on the subject was committed to the flames by that very General Quiroga on whom the Manifesto bestows the epithet of illustrious.

General Aldao, rescued from the hands of the executioner by the interposition of the Bolivian Agent, was presented to the Government, which at that time was resident in La Paz. There he was informed that he was at perfect liberty to dispose of his person as he thought proper: and having asked for his passport and an officer to accompany him, both petitions were granted and he returned unmolested to his country. This simple and honest statment of the facts infers a conclusion of irresistible cogency, which falsifies and throws to the ground the towering argument that is raised on the supposed benevolence and fellow-feeling of the Bolivian Cabinet towards the Unitarians: for General Aldao, whose life and liberty were the exclusive achievement of the Bolivian mediation, belonged to the Federal party: a notorious proof of the impartiality which the Government maintained with respect to the intestine disputes of the Provinces. This individual is still alive and can attest to the truth of this statement.

After this imputation, so easily refuted, next in order

comes the history of the correspondence which took place between the two Governments, with respect to the withdrawing of the emigrants of either country from their respective frontiers. The message does not deny that the Government of Bolivia readily acceded to this measure. It should, however, have added that the Government of Bolivia carried it into execution; that all the Argentine refugees were passed into the interior of the Bolivian territory, with the sole exception of General Lopez, who had just planted a mercantile establishment in Tupiza, and could not be torn away from it but to his utter ruin. It is therefore absolutely false that the Bolivian authorities *insidiously shielded the enemies of the Confederacy.* A criminal charge of so very grave a nature, unsupported by a single proof, can only serve to cover with infamy the party that produces it.

That an acredited agent of Buenos-Ayres was not admitted in Bolivia, is a fact which the Government of Bolivia confesses, not only without a blush, but with the consciousness of having discharged, in that non-admission, an imperious duty, prescribed by the universal practice of civilized Governments and sanctioned by the law of nations. When the Government took that step, it was influenced by three very powerful considerations, any one of which were amply sufficient for its justification. In the first place, the well-known character of the individual to whom those functions were committed. In the history of the misfortunes of Buenos-Ayres his name occupied the most conspicuous place. He was notorious alike for his intrigues and his domineering and turbulent disposition, and he had stamped in his writings his revolutionary and factions opinions. Within the precincts of Bolivia all was repose, and its authorities did not choose that it should be disturbed by the intrigues of a foreign agent sent expressly for that purpose. In the second place, this same envoy, before entering on the Bolivian territory, demanded guarantees for the security of his person during his residence therein. This of itself closed the doors of the country against him; for, besides being

impracticable, unless the Government were to give him a guard to be in perpetual attendance on his person, the very demand was an insult on the dignity of the nation; for as much as it supposed its authorities to be impotent, and incapable of defending the lives of its inhabitants; while, on the other hand, it confirmed and justified the character, which he already bore throughout the whole of South America, of a froward and turbulent man. But the Government of Bolivia had other grounds, of a legal nature, for refusing to acknowledge and admit this envoy: namely, that the Cabinet which gave him his powers, and which he was destined to represent, was absolutely unknown to it. That the Government of Buenos-Ayres was authorized by those of the Provinces to conduct the foreign relations of the Confederacy, could not, in the apprehension of the Government of Bolivia, be anything better than a vague report. Officially it knew nothing of any such authorization: the Government of Buenos-Ayres had never given it any notice thereof; so far from it, all the international relations had been carried on, up to that time, with the Governor of Salta, nor had the Governor of Buenos-Ayres ever made the slightest objection thereto. It were a piece of irregularity unprecedented in the history of diplomacy, to acknowledge powers emanating from an authority which had not made itself known, and negotiate with a being whose very existence was, at least, a matter of doubt. But so frivolous a charge is too much honoured by this ample, peremptory and annihilating refutation: to which, however, it may be well to add, that the international relations which by such extraordinary means were sought to be established, were in the highest degree disadvantageous to Bolivia; whose points of contact are with the Province of Salta exclusively, whereas the Government of Buenos-Ayres had no authority to enforce the observance of any compact that might be celebrated between Bolivia and that Province.

That which follows in the order of the manifesto cannot be exhibited in its full extent of calumny and falsehood, except by a literal insertion of the whole pas-

sage."The revolution projected against the Government of Salta in 1833, in which General Santa-Cruz took a part, precipitated him into that course of conduct which he has followed ever since. On an understanding with the enemies of the late General La-Torre, Santa-Cruz, in the month of October of that year, despatched Lt. Col: Campero to Mojo, with 400 muskets and small arms and the competent ammunition, for the arming of 600 men on behalf of Jujui against Salta, with orders to have them transported to Yaví by Capt: D. Manuel Molina of the national Guards of Tarija. The Commandant Ontiveros, and Paredes the Judge of the District, collected their people, to put them under the orders of Campero, who was acompanied by the Commandant of the dragoons of Tarija and D. Manuel Vasquez, the Lientenauts Vallardares and Cartero, and D. José Guemez, besides other turbulent characters and sixteen soldiers: and the Bolivians did not retire within their own territory until General La Torre was defeated and made prisoner."

This paragraph lays down a positive fact and details its minutest circumstances. It speaks, in the clearest and most explicit terms, of an understanding between the head of the Bolivian administration and the enemies of General La-Torre: of a commission given to a military chief; of a formal plan of attack on a neighbouring territory, with a numerical specification of the troops that were to execute it, and the names of the individuals who were to lead it on. Who would not be deceived by a narration so circumstantial as this, and dressed up into such a semblance of authenticity? Would any one believe that a Government could have such a total disregard for its reputation, as to run the risk of being exposed to the world as the gratuitous inventor of a string of falsehoods, a series of events every one of them feigned, a heap of gross and palpable fables, liable to be disproved in the clearest of all possible ways, by appealing to innumerable witnesses, still alive, of the real fact which it had so insidiously and malignantly misrepresented? Yet, strange as it may seem, all this must be believed, when

it is known that the head of the Bolivian Administration had no undertanding or communication of any kind whatever with the enemies of General La-Torre—that he never gave any orders, either publick or secret, for the invasion of the territory of Salta—nor had the slightest knowledge of the operations of Lt. Col: Campero until long after they had taken place. For the thousandth time it must be repeated, there is one refutation, and the only one it either deserves or is capable of, for this infamous libel, which the Governor of Buenos-Ayres does not blush to have stamped with his name. He is the accuser—let him produce his proofs. If he do not make good his charge, the epithet which all the world will bestow on him, must be that which no honorable man can endure, and which excludes him who deserves it from all human society.

Again, and a thousand times again, if it were necesary, we hurl a flat contradiction against that pompous fabrick of simulated facts, constructed with such laboured minuteness of detail, and yet utterly unfounded, and as incapable of application as though they were attributed to some hero of the mythological ages. A controversy of this nature will admit of no other logick. All is *false!* This is the only reply whereof the charge is susceptible. It is *false* that the Government of Bolivia had an understanding with the enemies of General La-Torre: it is *false* that it despatched Lt. Col: Campero to Mojo, and that it furnished arms for 600 individuals of Jujui: it is *false* that the Bolivian authorities used any agency or cooperation in the movements of Ontiveros and Paredes, if indeed any such there were, or, in short, had any connexion with them of any kind whatever. When the Government of Buenos-Ayres shall present authentick documents in proof of the accusations contained in the above quoted paragraph, then, and not till then, will it efface the stigma of slanderer, with which it has thought fit to brand itself. In the mean time, *slanderer* is the title it deserves, and as *slanderer* does the Government of Bolivia hold it up to the execration of all honest men.

A diplomatick mission issued forth by a Government with which, up to that time, Bolivia had no relations whatever, and for a specifick negotiation in which Bolivia was merely passive, is the shallow foundation on which the existing Government of Buenos-Ayres has raised another imputation, equally odious and no less frivolous than the preceding ones. It is true that the Government of the Banda Oriental accredited an agent to the Government of Bolivia, for the purpose of negotiating, in union, a boundary treaty with the Brazilian empire: it is true that this proposition was, as it ought to be, favorably received: it is true, moreover, that it was agreed to authorize a Bolivian agent in Montevideo to carry on the negotiatión. But it is *false* that this project had anything to do *with the unhinging of the Argentine Confederacy*, as the Manifesto is pleased to suppose; and it is *false* that it was covenanted on the part of Bolivia, as a *condition* of the compact, *to demand a new organization through the medium of a general Congress.* Thus, by a process of fiction, the practised alchymy of the Government of Buenos-Ayres, is a simple and natural act transmuted into a mysterious and intricate affair. If the Government of Bolivia abstained altogether from inviting the Government of Buenos-Ayres to join in that negotiation, the reason has been already stated: it had no right to conclude, in the absence of all authentick and official proof, that there resided in that Government the faculties requisite for cooperation. Besides this, Bolivia had merely to perform a secondary part, as associated to the Cabinet from which the project emanated. It neither did nor could do anything more than simply yield its consent: but it never entered into its contemplation to set up *a Congress in the Confederacy, for the purpose of exciting the susceptibility of some and the ambition of others:* it never so much as dreamt *of dividing the Republick by invoking sacred names and seductive theories.* Such windy commentaries as these could only proceed from that spirit of cynical effrontery, from that extravagancy of principles and conduct, which characterize

the existing Government of Buenos-Ayres, and which would only excite a scornful smile, if their path were not imbrued with the blood of so many victims, and the days of their duration numbered by the scaffolds which they have erected. *Let these facts be disproved*, says the Manifesto, by all the arts of *sophistry*. It is not necessary to lay hold on that insidious instrument, to disprove them in the most peremptory and conclusive manner Disproved they are, and disproved they must remain, until the immoral author of so much wickedness produce the *authentick documents*, from whence he pretends to have compiled *this episode*, *shameful* indeed, but shameful for him alone who uses weapons at once so iniquitous and so despicable.

The same author is hereby challenged in the most solemn manner, to exhibit the proofs of that epistolary correspondence, which he asserts was maintained between the head of the Government of Bolivia and *the ringleaders of the unitarian faction, which had taken shelter in the Banda Oriental.* The head of the Bolivian Government protests in the face of the world, on the sacred word of honour, and whatever else is venerable among men, that this assertion is a foul calumny, wantonly fabricated by the author of the Manifesto, for which he has never furnished the slightest pretext nor given room for the remotest conjecture. *The letter written from the Oriental Republick by one of the unitarian leaders, aknowledging receipt of his inflammatory correspondence*, is the mere creation of the most bare-faced villainy and the most audacious impudence. That General La-Valle, who has been heretofore pointed out as the author of this correspondence, should write to the Chief Magistrate of a foreign nation, on whatever subject and in whatever terms were best suited to his purpose, is quite within the sphere of possible events. But to impute the culpability of this act to the individual to whom the letter is addressed, when that individual has never written a single line to the person who chooses him for the object of his confidence, is to subvert not only the laws of morality but

the plainest indications of common sense. It has already been said, and is now repeated, and be it known to all parts of the world whithersoever this paper shall find its way, that the head of the Government of Bolivia has never addressed a single letter, nor any written communication of any kind whatever, to General La-Valle, or to any of the individuals who figure in the unitarian party.* We repeat the challenge: let an authentick testimony be produced against us, or let the Government which, unable to maintain so positive an assertion, is reduced to silence and obliged to decline the challenge, be proclaimed forthwith unworthy of the station it holds, and all the individuals who compose it, unworthy, also, of every society in which the laws of truth and decency are respected.

General La-Valle, it must be repeated, might write the letter which the Cabinets both of Chile and Buenos-Ayres have handled so laboriously; this letter might travel to Chile, find its way on board of the Schooner Yanacocha, and at length into the hands of the French Commodore stationed in the Pacifick: but if it contained the acknowledgement of receipt which has been so frequently alluded to, how has it happened that the criminal passage, on which the whole of the acusation depends, was not printed together with the other fragments which were published by an editor in Chile? What! are both the principals and accomplices in this infernal conspiracy so very stupid, as not to have foreseen the consequences of furnishing such powerful weapons against themselves, or is their audacity of such a pitch, that they did not fear to lay bare to the publick eye, the scandalous protervity which prompted them to publish detached portions of the letter they pretend to have dis-

* The President of Bolivia does not remember to have had any other correspondence with Buenos-Ayres than what is confined to a very few and very insignificant letters, in answer to others of the same description from the Generals Alvear and Guido and other individuals, and all of them on private matters.

covered, while they omitted they only passage which it concerned them to make known, if they would not stand in the face of the world self-convicted and unblushing impostors? If the existence of the letter is not all a cheat, devised by two Cabinets transformed into gangs of forgers, the Government of Buenos-Ayres must have in its possession either the original or the copy—why, then, did it not quote, in its defamatory libel, those conclusive words, whereby it would have been spared the shame which must henceforth, and for ever, be its portion!

On this incident, though as insidious of design as it is clumsy of execution, it was necessary to dwell at some length, because the language of the author of the Message rises in solemnity in the direct ratio of the falsity of his assertions; and because the most efficacious way of determining the existence of the criminal fact presumed, and of destroying the argument which is raised upon it, is to reiterate again and again that no such criminal fact has ever had any existence, save in the polluted imagination of its inventor. The true arena for contentions of this kind is publicity. In it the combatant is expected. We stand within the lists—the summons has been proclaimed—all subterfuge is hopeless—if he fail to appear, we consign him to the epithets which the publick execration will affix to such abominable conduct.

A very simple fact, very insignificant in itself, very foreign from the plans of the Government of Bolivia, and very much beneath the dignity which it has ever maintained in the management of its foreign relations, is the next to present itself, in the Manifesto, after the calumny which has just been refuted: but it is so adorned with exotick incidents, so transformed both in its substance and in its circumstances, that it his only by bearing in mind the system which the Manifesto has pursued in all the instances which have been hitherto examined, that we can have any comprehension of the principle on which this metamorphosis has been effected. General Lopez, who, by an act of indulgence which has been already alluded to, was permitted to remain in Tupiza, in that plenary

confidence that he would dwell in quietness, which his solemn protestations, as well as the commercial establishment to which he had devoted himself in that city, would naturally inspire, false to his plighted faith and eluding the vigilance of the Bolivian authorities, made his escape into the Argentine territory, together with a few companions of his enterprize, all of them countrymen of his own and resident in various parts of the Republick. This was certainly a misfortune for both countries: but the conduct which the Government of Bolivia observed on that occasion was so publick, the explanations which it gave so satisfactory and conclusive, and the steps it took for the apprehension and punishment of the delinquents so prompt and so notorious, that it never harboured the slightest suspicion of being thought accessary to such a headless and ill-concerted scheme.

Any one must see at once, that if the Government of Bolivia had the slightest intention to awaken new disturbances in the Argentine provinces by an irruption of the refugees, it would never have hazarded the event of the enterprize, by entrusting it to such scanty means as those which General Lopez carried with him; and how scanty they were may be inferred from the Manifesto itself. It could easily have furnished him with every description of assistance, above all with arms and money, which are of primary importance in operations of this nature. But the Government of Bolivia did no such thing; nor is there in the whole affair one single point, from which it can possibly be inferred that it did: for it is by no means sufficient to establish such a conclusion, that the Manifesto accumulates windy declamations, or even affects the solemnity of positive designations, which carry no weight with them, coming, as they do, from so disreputable a source. It is not sufficient to refer to the declarations of Col: Balmaceda, who, being prisoner at the time and threatened with execution, would very naturally subscribe to whatever his judges and executioners dictated to him. Neither is it sufficient to assert that Lopez received military supplies from General O'Connor in Tarija, by order

of the Prefect of Potosi, who, in truth, was not the channel through which such orders would have been communicated. Without proofs, this concatenation of assertions is nothing better than a rope of sand. The incursion of Lopez into his country was so cautiously carried into execution, that it escaped the vigilance of the Bolivian police. When the Government was made acquainted with the fact, no time was lost in giving to the Government of Buenos-Ayres all the satisfaction, which, in such cases, is deemed sufficient to discharge a Cabinet of its responsibility. Legal proceedings were ordered to be instituted: vigilance was redoubled with respect to the refugees who remained in the territory: publicity was given to all these measures: nothing, in a word, was omitted—not, indeed, to vindicate the Government from an imputation which seemed to be too absurd for any one to think of making, but to bring to condign punishment the principals and accomplices in a crime, which was looked upon in Bolivia with all the disapprobation which it deserved.

The manner in which this unlucky accident is painted by the Captain General of Buenos-Ayres, gives occasion to interweave another string of fictions, to which one only answer can be given—namely, a flat and peremptory denial. It is said that Felipe Figueroa was solicited by the Prefect of Potosi to take possession of Catamarca: that this magistrate despatched three Agents in quest of *that vile instrument of iniquity:* that the Governor of Chichas had orders to help Quintana to take possession of Jujui: then follows an unintelligible story of an intrigue, in which the names of Roca, Diaz, Alvarado and La Madrid are introduced: we are told, moreover, that in Potosi the military supplies intended for Lopez were packed up in a place apart from the Arsenal, the better to avoid observation. All this, ushered in by a vast number of other aggravating circunstances, is printed in a publick document, and signed by the head of a Government and by his minister: and all this, so printed and so signed, is nothing better than a huge fiction, a long-drawn continuous falsehood—the legitimate offspring of the principle adopted by the

compilers of that infamous document: that is, to lie in the gross and to lie in detail—to lie in the facts and to lie in the circumstances—in order to bear down and circumvent the minds of men by the weight, and the extent, and the particularity of the falsehood, and to leave no room to suspect that individuals elevated to so lofty a station, could be capable of deception so vast, so complicated and so obstinately sustained.

Such, however, is the force of truth, that even they who violate it are obliged, in the end, to acknowledge its triumph. By concessions, extorted by piecemeal and with evident reluctance, the very Manifesto vindicates the Government of Bolivia from the charges which it prefers against it, proving that, obedient to the precepts of international law, since it had not been able to prevent the abuse of its hospitality, it was both ready and willing to satisfy the party aggrieved by chastising the offender. "The Prefect D. Hilarion Fernandez" says the Manifesto, "instantly gave orders to the Government of Chichas, that if by any accident Lopez and his companions should return, they might be apprehended and brought prisoners to the Prefecture; expressing, at the same time, his surprize that his generous hospitality should have been so abused. The Vice-President of Bolivia confirmed these orders on the 19th. of the same month, and affecting the deepest regret that the decorum of the Government should have been placed in jeopardy, he ordered the Prefect to give the most satisfactory demonstrations of the neutrality of the Bolivian Cabinet as to the domestick disputes of the Argentine Republick" This confession destroys to its very foundations all that precedes it. The conduct of the Bolivian Government, according to the Manifesto itself, was the most ample and complete satisfaction that could possibly have been given for an innocent offence, and it was the very conduct which is observed, in similar cases, by all enlightened Governments.

True it is that the merit so reluctantly allowed, and yet so justly earned by a proceeding at once so noble, frank and generous, is attempted to be frittered away

by imputing it gratuitously to *Craftiness*, and by vaguely alluding to insults and diatribes alleged to have been published in the ministerial gazette of Bolivia: but, as the offensive passages are not quoted, the party accused is absolved from the necessity of making any defence: for against indeterminate attacks what defence can be made, and to facts which are not specified what answer can be given?

In the same way do we dispose of the following calumny, with which one of the solidest arguments, whereby the Government of Bolivia has cleared itself from all participation in the criminal enterprize of Lopez, is sought to be disfigured. "The scanty number of the invaders and their deficiency of military stores are the strong hold of the organs of the Bolivian Government, in which they defend it against all idea of participation in such criminal contrivances: but the time is come when we may boldly lay it down as a principle of that Cabinet's policy, to collect combustibles just enough to introduce anarchy into the confining Republicks, for the purpose of prolonging division and uncertainty." Strange ratiocination, or, rather, absurd sophistry, to which iniquity, surprized in its dark machinations, betakes itself as its ultimate resource! It being too obvious to escape the notice of the most superficial observer, that the scanty number of invaders and their deficiency of military stores, proved beyond a doubt that Lopez and his accomplices relied solely on their own means, and that the Government of Bolivia could in no wise be suspected of having assisted them, the acknowledged scantiness is attributed to a principle of policy which clashes with the commonest rules that govern the operations of mankind. If the Government of Bolivia had merely proposed to itself to collect sufficient combustibles for introducing anarchy into the confining Republick, could it possibly have imagined that so small a number of invaders and so scanty a supply of military stores came under the denomination of sufficient? Would it have been so imprudent as to embark in an enterprize condemned from its very outset to a disas-

trous issue? The Government of Buenos-Ayres knows well enough, from its own experience and practice, what are the means of introducing anarchy into adjoining states, and ought not to have supposed that Bolivia, if she really had the intentions presumed, would fail to profit by the lesson which it taught her, when it armed the orientals one against another. It will excite astonishment in every corner of the argentine territory, that the Manifesto should attribute to the Government of Bolivia the excesses which took place in the Banda Oriental in 1836, when the publick voice proclaims the hand which armed Lavalleja, and which has fed for so long a time in that country the flames which are devouring it—when the head of the Bolivian Government declares, on his word of honour, that with the state of Uruguai he has never had, directly or indirectly, any other than that very trivial and transient intercourse which has already been mentioned —when the general execration of the Orientals is thundering down like an overwhelming torrent against General Rosas, the known, the publickly denounced, promoter of the civil war which is desolating its plains—when, in short, supposing in the Government of Bolivia the desire, which it has never entertained, of favouring the Unitarians, it had no need to direct its shafts at so distant a scope as Montevideo, having in its power so many individuals belonging to that party, being so near the vortices of the argentine revolution, and continually receiving from the Argentine Provinces confining on its frontier, solicitations, which it has constantly resisted, not, indeed, for the means of making war, but to be incorporated with a Republick that has been enjoying, for so many years, the sweets of peace and repose and publick order.

From a narrative no less tedious, complicated and perfidious than the preceding ones, the Manifesto would fain infer that the Government of Bolivia, not satisfied with the perpetration of all the crimes which are so falsely imputed to it in that ignominious document, *annulled the laws of the Province of Salta by the*

introduction of an armed force which, passing the boundary line, openly penetrated into the territory of the Republick. The narrative we allude to treats of the measures which D. Fernando Campero, heir to the marquisate of Yavi, thought fit to take, in order to secure his property and save it from the rapacity of his opponents—a rapacity to which it was the more obnoxious, as the Province of Salta, where a part of those vast possessions is situated, has not for many years known any other law than the caprice of its chieftains, during the few intervals that have occurred between the sanguinary contests aud frightful convulsions whereof it has been the theatre. In truth, the only answer that ought to be made to this part of the Manifesto, is, that the events which it treats of did not take place in the Bolivian territory; that its authorities were not in the remotest degree concerned or in any way mixed up with the proceedings of Campero; and that where society is shaken to its very foundations, where even the native inhabitants have no security of any kind whatever, we ought not to be surprized if foreigners, who have dealings in so distracted and lawless a country, appeal to the charter of Natural Rights and repel violence with violence. Such, in short, is the history of an affair, which the Manifesto presents to the world altered and exaggerated in all its features, and tinctured with the dies of its own protervity and falsehood.

It is all reducible to one simple fact. A lawsuit, in effect, was pending between the above-mentioned D. Fernando Campero and D. Pedro Nolasco Uriondo about the possession, pending the suit, of the territories of Yavi. The legislature of Salta, arrogating to itself the faculties of the judicial power and thus subverting the elemental principles of all legislation, ordered of its own will and pleasure, there being no preexisting law that authorized such a monstrous stretch of power, that the rents should be deposited in the publick coffers for account of the Government; and charged D. Cirilo Alvarado, the Subdelegate of La Puna, with the execution of this plunder-

ous act of usurpation. To place a very considerable sum of money in the hands of authorities standing, like those of Salta, within the ebb and flow of mutiny and riot, was tantamount to a certain and irreparable loss. In this conflict, D. Fernando Campero had recourse to the administration of Bolivia, imploring its protection; which was peremptorily denied him, on the ground that the grievance for which he sought redress had taken place in a foreign jurisdiction. Whether or not the sufferer remonstrated with the authorities of Salta, on the illegality and violence of the proceeding, is not known in Bolivia; but, if he did, it is very clear that his complaint was disregarded. Be that how it may, Campero thought himself authorized, by the laws of self-defence, to recover his own property with his own hand; and, according to the Manifesto, did, it seems, recover from the Sub-delegate upwards of five thousand dollars, the rent of Estates whereof he had legitimate possession, and which, if the tyrannical order had been carried into execution, he would have been perfectly justified in considering as lost.

The Manifesto divests this event of its private character, and transforms it into a publick act of the Bolivian Government carried into effect by Bolivian troops. But this is altogether false. Neither had the Government of Bolivia the slightest intervention in the affair, or even any knowledge of it, nor did the individuals who accompanied Campero in his enterprize belong to the army. They must, assuredly, have been dependants and servants of his own, enrolled perhaps in the National Guard, as every one is who inhabits a frontier bordering on a perpetual focus of riot and rebellion. But if, indeed, any of the National Guards were concerned in the affair, it was in their private character and not in virtue of any orders which they received; for no such orders were ever given, and he who affirms the contrary does openly transgress the truth.

The Manifesto complains that, although the Government of Salta took upon itself to demand from that of Bolivia satisfaction for this injury, as it call it, yet none

was given. The communication, if indeed any was made, never reached the Government: and no wonder; for at that time the Province of Salta was fermenting with one of its accustomed commotions, its roads obstructed, and its plains covered with armed men: all which, however, did not prevent the Vice-President from demanding the persons of José Antonio Reinafe and Cornelio Moyano, prescinding, as he ought, from the crime whereof they were accused, and confining himself merely to the important fact of their having been apprehended in Antofasta, a place within the limits of Bolivia. Is he to be denied, forsooth, the right of vindicating the privileges of his own territory? Is it disputed, perchance, that the caption was made in that territory? Certainly not. Then what did the Government of Tucuman do on this occasion? All that it did, as the Manifesto itself assures us, was to make reference to the Government of Buenos-Ayres: a shallow and pitiful evasion, which neither covered its responsibility nor absolved it from the crime of violation. The demand made by the Vice-President was no shielding of a criminal, as the Manifesto malignantly interprets it, no, it was the assertion of an unalienable and sacred right; and the author of that paper shows himself to be as ignorant of political legislation as he is false in his statement of the facts, when he alleges, by way of excuse, that the Government of Bolivia, in asserting the privileges of its territorial jurisdiction, disavowed *the limits which the common consent of nations has assigned to the laws of asylum:* as if it were lawful for any nation to enter into a neighbouring territory, therein to exercise criminal jurisdiction, which the act of caption implies; or as if all the exceptions of the right of asylum, did not imperiously require a diplomatick communication with the Government within whose dominions the asylum was obtained.

To him who is condemned to the loathsome task of answering a document, that was written for the purpose of profaning all that is most sacred and venerable among men, be it permitted to pass over, with the silence of disdain and compassion, indefinite generalities and vague ampli-

fications that contain no specifical and positive charges, and whose only aim is to strengthen the impression intended to be made by falsifications and calumnies, introduced and detailed under the imposing name of facts. In this Contra-Manifesto have been refuted all the accusations which the Government of Buenos-Aires accumulates on that of Bolivia—the supposed infractions of the rights of nations, and of those duties to the reciprocal performance of which the various families of mankind are pledged, from the moment they submit themselves to constituted authorities—all these charges, as it has been our endeavour, so we trust it has been our achievement, to prove them utterly false and destitute of all foundation. We have appealed to the judgement of nations, before whose venerable bar we summon the Señores Rosas and Arana, calling upon them to justifiy with authentick documents the charges which they have preferred against us, and proclaiming them *in terminis* slanderers without shame, assassins of their neighbour's reputation, and unworthy to associate with men who respect the laws that govern the moral world, if they refuse to obey the summons. This is the only way of answering that part of the Manifesto which we have hitherto been discussing. The remainder of it deserves still less courtesy at our hands: and we should treat it with the silence of contempt, if the desire of defending oneself, how feeble and contemptible soever may be the arms with which one is attacked, were not a principle inherent in the heart of man. Besides which, it may not, perchance, be altogether useless, to convey a lesson of prudence and moderation to that obscure oppressor of a people alike illustrious and unhappy—to that ominous being, chosen, in the mysterious counsels of Providence, to be the scourge of a region that seemed worthy of a better fate, and who fancies, in his dull and bloated pride, that it is as easy to blast the fame of a well-reported Government as it is to designate, from the corner in which he has ensconced himself, the victims of his bloody spite, and to crush them with the weight of his gloomy and atrocious misanthropy.

From that seat, on which he scarcely sustains himself by dint of wanton persecution and arbitrary homicide, and from which the misfortunes of so many people, and the cries and curses of so many victims, conspire to hurl him down—from that seat, which is tottering and crumbling beneath him, does this prodigy of impudence presume to arbitrate upon foreign questions, and pronounce judgement on the domestick policy of free and powerful nations.

The concluding part of this abortion of infernal passions, which he has delivered to the world under the profaned denomination of Manifesto, is occupied in examining the grounds on which the Government of Chile has declared war against the Peru-Bolivian Confederacy: and, what is still more incredible, in deciding on the validity, legitimacy and fitness of the political arrangements which Perù has entered into spontaneously, in the exercise of that sovereignty, which, as an independent nation, does of right belong to her.

Of the first point the Government of Chile and that of the Confederacy are the competent judges: theirs it is to decide the question, whether by arms or negotiation, or in whatever manner they think fit. If the former has been so imprudent as to call to its aid a Cabinet threatened by so many internal enemies, and so bankrupt in resources and opinion, it has but weakened its own cause, and instead of acquiring a useful ally, has associated itself with a hungry beggar, who will not cease to importune it with demands befitting his insatiable rapacity and his degrading and well deserved penury. But the Government of the Confederacy will never condescend to give explanations to one who has no right to exact them; much less when the matter in dispute has been so amply discussed between the belligerent Governments, and when the Peru-Bolivian Confederacy has had the satisfaction to find its conduct approved and lauded, by judges somewhat more respectable than the uncivilized captain of a band of robbers.

The internal organization of the Peru-Bolivian Confederacy is a matter that admits of only one competent

judge, which is the Confederacy itself: and that great and magnanimous nation, recognized already in its new existence by all the consolidated and equitable Governments of America, and by those of Europe and North America, through the medium of their diplomatick agents—confident of its own strength, and of the stability which that strength can impart to the new organick laws which its legitimate representatives have given to it—would be justly indignant with its Supreme Magistrate, if he fell into the unpardonable weakness of satisfying the objections of any foreign government whatever, even though it should not exhibit all the tokens of decrepitude, instability and vandalism, which at once characterize and contaminate the Government of Buenos-Ayres. Its views are far too elevated, too solemn its engagements, and too august the sources from whence it derives its legitimacy, for it ever to endure the profanation of submitting the conditions of its political existence to the invidious and frenetick speculation of an audacious despot, with whom the interests, the ardent desires, and the struggles of his countrymen, are already disputing the ephemeral power which he abuses. Could anything in the world be more ridiculous than a long analysis, authorized with the signature of General Rosas, of the right whereby the Confederated Republicks have modelled their polity after the fashion which best suited them—authorized, we repeat it for the sake of emphasis, with the signature of General Rosas, whose vile and barbarous despotism has extinguished in the unhappy country which groans beneath his sway, not only the institutions, the laws, the customs and practices of well regulated communities, but even security of life and property, publick decency, the repose of families, the confidence of the citizens, and the very germs of civilization? And although we should concede to him, by an indefensible hypothesis, the right to scrutinize the polity of the Confederacy, could the opinion of a sanguinary Vandal be put in competition with the deliberate approbation, which has been bestowed on the federal

compact by the Governments of the Equator, Brazils, Venezuela, New Granada and Mexico?

It seems unnecessary, and, certainly, it would ill become the three Confederated Republicks and the Government which has the honour to preside over them, to dwell any longer on the answering of objections which no one has a right to make to them, and which, if any such right there were, would lose all their force, coming, as they do, from a source so impure, and acknowledged so to be in all the corners of the earth. And this very consideration would have spared us the trouble of replying to the infamous production which has called forth these observations, if we had not deemed it convenient to give a publick warning to the unblushing fabricator of so many calumnies, to the violator of so many rights, and the convicted perpetrator of so many crimes! For such, in truth, is the notoriety of his excesses, and so deep and so universal are the censure and detestation which have been launched against him by all the presses of Europe, that it is sufficient to see his name at the foot of any document, to pronounce upon its contents: his signature stamps the character of the man upon the paper to which it is affixed, and makes it as worthless, as false, and as infamous as himself.

Hence, also, it is, that we have deemed it unnecessary to prefer against such a man and such a Government the just and well founded accusations, for which his external policy, to use a term which by no means applies to his conduct, has given room, and more especially as respects Bolivia. Nevertheless, we will mention one circumstance which sets in its true point of view the benevolent and conciliatory policy of the Bolivian Cabinet, even after it had received very serious wrongs at the hand of the Buenos-Ayrean Administration, and was convinced of its incapacity and unbridled intemperance. In 1833, when General Armaza was sent to that Government with the credentials of Minister Plenipotentiary, not only were his functions disallowed, under the frivolous and puerile pretence of a verbal omission in the official communica-

tion whereby he was announced, but, after many other offensive proceedings, the Governor of Buenos-Ayres himself collected and marshalled a mob against the person of that Agent, which, led on by individuals in the employment of the State, attacked his habitation, pouring forth a torrent of the most filthy and obscene abuse, and would have put an end to his life, but for the precautions which he had happily taken, to secure himself against the fury of his assassin.

Such is the man who, from the corner of an habitation in which he hides himself from the sight of his countrymen, lest he should read in their aspects the publick anathema which condemns him, has dared to declare war against three millions of souls, united in one by the bands of fraternity and of the law, defended by an army whose recent achievements have signalized in the most illustrious manner the spirit which animates it, and presided by a Government on which the good-will and the blessings of all the friends of humanity, and of all who take an interest in the honour and happiness of America, rest with abiding efficacy. Happily that vain declaration of hostilities is nothing more than an impotent eruption of hatred and malice—the blood of men will never canonize the insanity of one of their deadliest enemies—the Argentine people will refuse, as they do at this day, to participate in his homicidal excesses—and instead of the scandal which this insensate being was preparing to offer to the world, arraying innocent men in arms for an holocaust to his criminal delirations, his own ruin will serve as a terrible lesson to those, who at the impulse of blind passion, or yielding to still baser motives, trample without remorse on the sacred rights of humanity, and the sacred laws of justice.

Palace of the Protectorate, Lima 17:th of August 1837.

Andres Santa-Cruz.

Secretary General.—***Casimiro Olañeta.***

As the best of all possible commentaries on the Buenos-Ayrean Manifesto and the manly refutation thereof contained in the foregoing pages, we take leave to subjoin the translation of a letter, which was printed in Montevideo, and transcribed in the Official Gazette of the Northern State of the Confederacy, published in Lima on the 6:th of September of the present year, and is as follows.

ORIENTAL STATE.

TO THE PUBLICK.

"In the Manifesto which the Governor of the Province of Buenos-Ayres has published under date of the 19:th of this month, with an intent to justify the declaration of war against the Republick of Bolivia, various references are made to the Government of the State of Uruguay, assuming, as a ground of serious imputation, the spirit of a plan which was designed by that State in the year 1834, for the negotiating of a boundary treaty between the Empire of Brazils and the States confining thereon. As I am the individual whom the Government of the Republick commissioned, on that occasion, to invite the Governments of Bolivia, Peru and Colombia to adopt a design, in the object of which they were no less interested than the Republick of Uruguay, I consider

it due to myself as well as to the honour of the Government of my country, to declare, as I solemnly do declare—

"That everything that the Governor of the Province of Buenos-Ayres has uttered in the aforesaid Manifesto, with respect to the organization of a plan, projected by the Government of the Oriental State of Uruguay, for the unhinging of the Argentine Confederacy, and which is supposed to have made a part of my Commission, IS ENTIRELY FALSE.

"That H. E. D. Manuel Oribe, now President of the Republick, but at that time one of the Ministers of State, and therefore necessarily acquainted with the nature of my mission, considered it not only creditable but eminently patriotick.

"That Doctor D. Francisco Llambi, at present Minister of State for foreign affairs, received and answered all the official communications relative to my commission, and was the organ through which I received my instructions.

"That the Governor of Buenos-Ayres cannot have anything in his possession, that deserves the name of authentick, disclosing that disorganizing plan which he makes so much of in his Manifesto—and that for the best of all possible reasons—because nothing, absolutely nothing, of the sort has ever existed.

"That the Government of the Oriental State, to which I belong, never entrusted to me any such mission as the Buenos-Ayrean Manifesto presumes, and which, indeed, none but a conspirator could have accepted. The object for which I was commissioned was a noble object, eminently patriotick, and worthy of a Republick. In prosecution thereof I went to Peru, in quest, not of conspirators, but of enlightened Governments: with such Governments I had the good fortune to meet, and my mission terminated, as might have been expected, satisfactorily.

All the original documents relative to this affair are at this day in my possession. If the Government au-

thorizes me to publish them, they will be published. In the mean time, all persons who desire to see them, may repair to my house for three consecutive days between the hours of six and eight o'clock at night, and *convince themselves of the PRECIPITANCY, to say the least of it*, with which the Governor of Buenos-Ayres has proceeded in so delicate a matter."

Francisco J. Muñoz.

MANIFIESTO

DEL GOBIERNO PROTECTORAL

SOBRE

EL DECRETO DEL GOBIERNO DE CHILE DE 18 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1837,

EN QUE RENUSA SU RATIFICACION

AL TRATADO DE PAZ

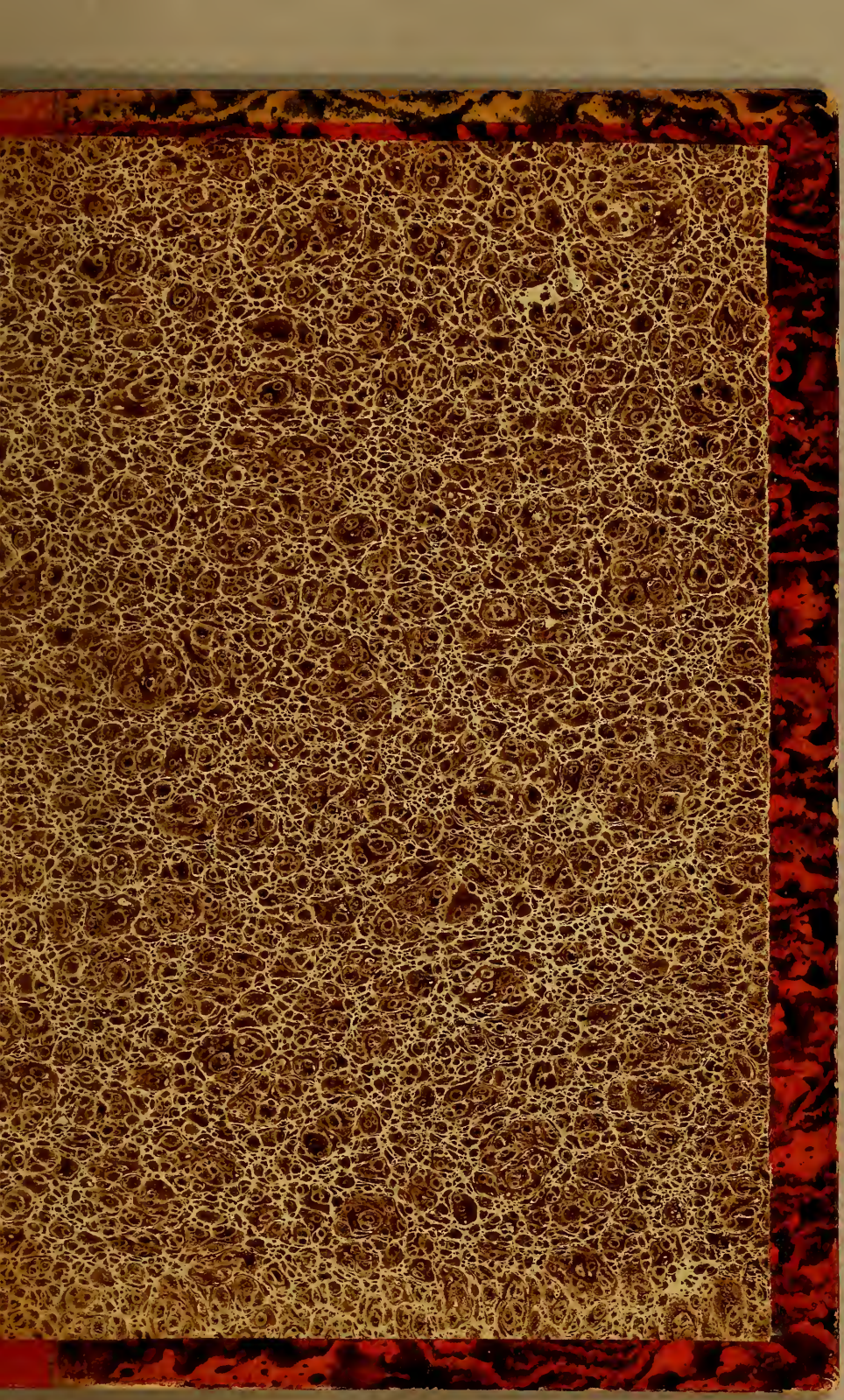
de 17 de Noviembre del mismo año.

PAZ DE AYACUCHO

1838.

Imprenta del Colejio de Artes.

B714
P426i
13



HT